

PEACE NEWS

No. 296

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2d.

The Duke of Bedford on

FREEDOM—and all that

THE war mind is essentially emotional and irrational, and nowhere more so than in relation to that magic thing "freedom."

The people of Britain are willing to sacrifice their lives and property and everything they possess (including freedom) in order to preserve freedom. They wish to "restore" it even to countries where it did not previously exist.

Yet although they are willing to sacrifice everything for the sake of freedom, they do not in fact set a very great store by freedom either for themselves or for others! What is more, they would far rather go on dying in the pursuit of freedom than take the trouble to make sure that it cannot be gained by other and less costly methods. All of which is very odd.

In pre-war days, owing to a faulty monetary and foreign trade system and out-of-date ideas in regard to the relation of work to income, enormous numbers of people, though politically free, were living in varying degrees of economic servitude. The simple and obvious remedy—the regulation of the country's money supply by its maximum output and import of desired goods and services; the provision of more money for those who have too little; and the recognition of the fact that persons displaced from paid labour by machinery must be given money not taken out of other people's pockets to enable them to buy the output of the machine that displaced them—though long known and widely proclaimed, has attracted little interest or support. The victims of economic servitude just did not mind enough about it to trouble to understand the remedy or to press that an experiment should be made with the suggested cure.

"Freedom" in Poland

Before this war no ordinary person cared two hoots whether there was, or was not, freedom in Poland. Not one man or woman in ten thousand was seriously disturbed when, in 1931, the Manchester Guardian de-

clared that there was "unshakable evidence" that the Poles' treatment of the Ukrainians constituted "one of the most frightful atrocities of modern times"; or when, in 1938, The Times asserted that "although the peasants form over three-quarters of the total population of Poland, they have virtually no representation in Parliament and no direct influence in State affairs."

It was only when the British Government decided to declare war on Germany for engaging in hostilities with Poland when the latter had rejected what, it must be admitted, were reasonable proposals for the redress of serious German grievances, that Polish "freedom" suddenly became an issue for which thousands of our fellow-countrymen were prepared to die.

This Slavery

I have already referred to the complete readiness of British people to surrender all freedom in the defence of freedom, but only a minority of very shocking persons (some, I regret to say, in the Services) who declare that they could not now be any worse off under Hitler, see anything funny or wrong about it! We still speak of ourselves as a "democracy," but in point of fact we are nothing of the kind—we are a slave-state just like our opponents.

Parliament is becoming less and less representative of the nation and members of Parliament are becoming more and more intolerant of criticism from the electorate whose wishes they are supposed to carry out. The Cabinet is becoming more and more independent of Parliament whom it informs after major decisions have been taken, instead of consulting them before. The Prime Minister is becoming more and more independent of the Cabinet.

The Home Secretary has power to imprison without trial for an indefinite period anyone whom he says he has reasonable cause to believe is acting in a manner prejudicial to the public safety, but in many cases, not only has he no reasonable cause for his action, but it is impossible to see why he believes that he has. As far as genuine British subjects are concerned, it would seem that Regulation 18B is in fact used to stifle criticism of the war or of the conduct of the war, hush up inconvenient scandals, and pay off old scores against political opponents.

Patriots in Prison

As a result of 18B, the blunders of tribunals, and the injustice of the law affecting conscientious objectors who refuse to submit to medical examination or feel that they cannot accept even non-military service ordered by the State, our prisons are filled with innocent and patriotic men and women of all descriptions, some having distinguished records of service in the last war. We have conscription of labour for both sexes and all forms of property can be commandeered by the State.

Some people of course claim that this destruction of liberty is purely a war measure, but though I hope it may be so, I have considerable doubts whether it will prove to be the case. The fact is that enormous numbers of people even now do not want freedom restored. Many favour the retention after the war of conscription for military purposes, which is

the worst of all forms of tyranny; and many favour planning experiments of a kind which would involve the tyranny of a vast bureaucracy of State officials. Of course, neither group is aware that it is advocating a form of tyranny, for no tyranny appears tyrannical to those who desire either to administer it or to submit themselves to its authority.

Ask The Enemy

So fiercely intent have people become on the defence of a freedom that they have already lost and on its "restoration" where it has never existed, that they reject with indignation the idea that it might be a good plan, before proceeding further with the war, to find out how much freedom enemy countries would be prepared to grant as their contribution to a peace settlement which delivered them from the threat of hostile military alliances and gave them access to a share of the world's economic resources proportionate to the needs and numbers of their people.

Probably they would be ready to grant a great deal and no question of "trustworthiness" would be involved as, under the relatively sane foreign trade system they favour, it would pay them to have neighbours who were well disposed toward them and also prosperous.

The road to peace, even now, is plain enough to those who have eyes to see it.

Briefly it would consist in an offer by this country and the USA—

(Continued on page 4)

CREDIT TO BUY FOOD FOR BELGIUM

Exiled Government's Backing Needed

WHEN a £3,000,000 credit for the purchase of foodstuffs in the Balkans for starving people in Belgium was recently granted by a banking consortium in Basle, it was stated in the London Evening Standard, last Friday, the bankers demanded the endorsement of the agreement by the Belgian Government in exile.

After several weeks' negotiations with a commission of three men from Brussels, the accord was signed on Jan. 31. By Jan. 6 two purchasing commissions were on their way to Hungary and Rumania, which are expected to furnish food shipments within the next few days.

The Purchasing Commission plans to buy about £2,000,000 worth of foodstuffs within six months.

German consent for the transit of shipments was granted to the Belgian Commission, but a difficulty was encountered when the discussion turned to the route to be used and freight cars.

Those difficulties are said to have been solved.

GREEK FOOD SHIP

The International Red Cross, which is to distribute the 8,000 tons of wheat promised to Greece (as reported in Peace News, Jan. 30), is doing all in its power to expedite the departure of the ship.

This was stated by Dr. A. P. Cawedias, chairman of the Greek Red Cross, on Monday, according to the News Chronicle, Jan. 10.

Mr. Dalton told the House on Tuesday that this single shipment "did not represent the final remedy for the situation."

COMMENTARY

Edited by "OBSERVER"

Watch Sir Stafford!

THE news of the week is mainly Cripps. So we will begin at the beginning and travel down a few by-ways.

If we can trust the press reports, Sir Stafford was offered the post of Minister of Supply, and refused it because he would not have sufficient independent authority. Further, he is said to have demanded a place in the War Cabinet. Both reports are credible, because they are in keeping with what we know of Sir Stafford.

A firmly defined independent authority would be imperative with Lord Beaverbrook as Production Dictator. Sir Alexander Roger, who knows as much as most men about the business of organizing production pointed out in a letter to the Times that Lord Beaverbrook's boost of aircraft production during "the battle of Britain" disorganized production in general for months afterwards. No wonder The Times (Feb. 5) is not too sanguine about the new appointment. "He has yet to prove his capacity for far-sighted planning and for vigorous, orderly, and sustained direction of complex machinery on the largest scale." Indeed, of the responsible press, only The Observer (Feb. 8) has no misgivings.

For reasons which I have stated before, the one plus-value that may result from Lord Beaverbrook's advancement is Sir Stafford's refusal to enter the Government. As a whole, the slight reshuffle, which leaves the War Cabinet precisely as it was, "falls conspicuously short of parliamentary and public expectation." (Times, Feb. 5).

Cripps and India

IN an interview given to the Daily Mail (Feb. 6) Sir Stafford said that he had given up the law for good,

on the first day of the war: he is now to become a private member with an open mind, and a concern for the vast post-war problems.

I do not propose (he said) to try to make things difficult for the Government by merely becoming a critic. But neither do I propose to be afraid of saying what I think ought to be said.

If the job of trying to arrange a settlement in India were offered him he would take it, he said; but he made the important point that the *onus* was not now in fact upon the Indian leaders. "The first stage is that the British Government has to make up its mind on its policy—a different policy from any so far announced." This I believe to be true.

In my view (he subsequently said) the promise of Dominion status to India should be made perfectly clearly in the terms Lord Balfour used in 1926; that is, that the Dominion would have the right to remain in or go outside the British Commonwealth of nations. That means the right to independence. (News Chronicle, Feb. 9).

I doubt whether after so plain a declaration Sir Stafford will be sent on a mission to India—by Mr. Churchill. Meanwhile, I note that Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, the moderate leader, commented on the recent India debate in the Lords:

Repeated asseverations and righteous intentions can take us nowhere. I am anxious that my friends in England should realize this and cease to deceive themselves.

Too Late?

ONE has the uneasy feeling that in both these matters—effective opposition in Parliament, and the conciliation of Indian opinion—it may be too late to do anything.

The conciliation of Indian opinion

(Continued on page 2)

Have YOU any "Treasure"?

HAVE you, yourself, done your bit in the Treasure Hunt? Have you really gone through your drawers and boxes and sent us all the odds and ends which can be sold for the Fighting Fund? They include not merely obvious treasures, like jewellery, but small, no longer used possessions of the kind one does not throw away, such as gold pen-nibs, gold and rolled gold spectacle frames, silver cigarette-cases, silver-backed brushes, silver candlesticks and trophies, gold or silver watch-cases, pencils. Do not hesitate because of the apparent insignificance of your contribution.

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The Editor.

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The Pattern of History

THE tempo of history has mightily accelerated in the most recent phase of mechanical invention. One consequence is that events since 1914 present a pattern of extraordinary clarity. We fought a war for Democracy and Liberty and against Militarism: a war to end wars. We rejected all overtures for peace (one made by Pope Benedict, another by the Austro-Hungarian Emperor) on the grounds that no peace could be negotiated with such an enemy. Victory was a moral necessity. We were victorious. We imposed a punitive, revengeful, and impracticable peace.

Twenty years later we found ourselves at war again. The total situation has deteriorated horribly. We are again fighting for Democracy and Liberty—but it looks more like dictatorship; Prussian militarism has turned into German Nazism. Japan and Italy are fighting not for, but against us; France has capitulated. Russia is fighting stoutly for Russia, but certainly not for what we understand by Liberty or Democracy. The scales, as compared to last time, are weighted heavily against us. But there is the same "moral impossibility" of making peace.

If it were just Prussian militarism that was now against us (we say to ourselves) peace might be possible: after all, Prussian militarism was at least honourable. But Nazism is impossible, just as Communism was up to July 1940. We do not care to remember that when the Prussian militarism of the Kaiser was the enemy, however honourable it may have been, we said about it just the same things as we are now saying about the dishonourable Nazism of Hitler. We do not care to reflect that we are quite as responsible as anybody else for the total deterioration of the situation. The fact that the situation of twenty-five years ago has recurred on a lower ring, so to speak, of the spiral descent into the abyss, seems to cause us no misgiving at all. We refuse to be aware of it. The thought that we snatched a victory and abused it, and that we shall have to pay, is unthinkable. Equally unthinkable is the thought that France has had to pay, so why not we? We avoid the ugly challenge of this thought by assuring ourselves that France was degenerate. We, of course, are—well, what are we?

Whatever we are, we are living in a fools' paradise—a kind of Woolworth emporium of shams and illusions. Russia may or may not, conquer Germany: it will probably come to much the same thing in the end. The chances are that a Germany captured by Russia would take Russia captive, by her technical genius and her capacity for hard work. America may, or may not, conquer Japan: but hardly in order to restore the British Empire. The opportunity of making creative history will not be offered twice to us. To America or Russia, possibly, but not to us. We had our chance in 1918. We threw it away. Since then, British history has been a sorry record of moral weakness masquerading as the will to peace.

Yet it is strange that so many who know these things and have once been conscious of the pitiful pattern of our recent history conspire to forget it now. Men who had taken the moral measure of Mr. Churchill during the last war, now idolize him. Men who had taken the moral measure of Lord Beaverbrook between the wars, are content to see him second in command of this once great nation now. Something has cracked in our morality. We have lost the power even to read the signs of the times. There is only a tiny minority left among us which dares to face the truth. Yet it is the best thing to do.

A New Dynamic In British Politics?

should have been pressed by a vigorous Opposition on the Government at the beginning of the war. A vigorous Opposition should have challenged Mr. Churchill's fateful exclusion of India from the scope of the Atlantic Charter. Either that, or a general acceptance of a forthright declaration that India was an Empire, and would remain one as long as Britain could hold it. Mr. Amery is now being pilloried for having said in 1933: "Our whole policy in India, our whole policy in Egypt, stands condemned, if we condemn Japan." That was, at least, an honest statement. It is humbug to be shocked by it, if no different policy is to be pursued.

A speaker in the Lords debate stated that the average yearly income of the Indian peasant was £6, whereas the income of even the Japanese peasant was £20. You cannot remedy a situation such as that by granting "self-government" to India. The thing is too elemental. The disinterested labour of fifty years in trying to raise the Indian standard of life would have been needed.

Explaining Libya

THE charge is now being categorically made, even by so reputable a paper as the Manchester Guardian, that Rommel has been, and is being,

reinforced by way of Vichy France and Tunis. Notably, no concrete evidence is produced. Apparently it is hoped to kill three birds with one stone. First to put the blame on Vichy for our defeat in Libya. Although the only fragment of evidence relates to a ship due to arrive in Tunis in early February, that is, well after Rommel's recapture of Benghazi, the Daily Express (Feb. 7) has the hardihood to write:

This disclosure, which has been suspected for some time, solves the mystery why the 8th Army, after a fine offensive campaign which was carried to the Tripolitanian border, is now in retreat.

Now that the situation has become "ominous" (Mail, Feb. 7), it is no longer convenient to admit that we have been out-generalled, out-tanked, and out-fought, as the more reputable papers have been doing. We have been beaten by foul play after all. That saves our pride and Mr. Churchill's.

Secondly, it encourages the popular superstition that we have naval command of the Mediterranean. It is only by the backstairs that German reinforcements can cross. Thirdly, it follows hard upon the report that USA has resumed shipments of vital necessities to French N. Africa; and it may help to stop this decent traffic. Sweet are the uses of adversity—and

Don't Get Us Wrong!

THE subject of Retribution is still arousing discussion in world-reforming circles. The chief problem seems to be how to ensure that it shall not be mistaken for something else.

The cry goes up from press and pulpit—"Don't get us wrong!" And echo answers, "Beware of imitations!"

We shall agree that when chastising wrong-doers, it is most important to get the right name for one's action. Future historians will want to know what to call it, and the Recording Angel will want to know how to enter it up.

I gather from the archiepiscopal definitions quoted in this journal that the name of a deed is decided by the spirit in which it is done. That sounds reasonable. Take any ordinary, everyday act of chastisement, such as a punch on the nose. It is essential that there shall be no misunderstanding as to motive on the part of the party of the second part.

There is a world of difference between sloshing a sinner in the pan in order to recall him to a sense of social responsibility, and doing it simply because you do not like his face. One is Reformation, the other is Persecution.

In the one case the nose-owner will thank you afterwards for setting his wandering feet upon the path of righteousness; in the other he will merely seek an early opportunity to get his own back for a poke in the snout. Human destiny hangs upon such distinctions.

IN dealing with chastisement on a care-is needed. It is not easy to convince several million people of the purity of your motive in rubbing out their friends and relations.

For that reason the archbishops have been at pains to define the conditions by which one can confer the benefits of Retribution while avoiding the bad effects of Vengeance. World-planners and tight-rope walkers should follow these instructions closely.

We gather from these authorities that Retribution can only be put into operation successfully by people who "harbour no vengeful thoughts," (Canterbury) and "fight Germany for the love of Germans yet to be" (York).

It is therefore clear that when the Nazi leaders are lined up after the war waiting to be retributionally liquidated, the job must be given only to candidates who can satisfy the examiners that (a) they have no desire

by
OWLGlass

to get their own back, and (b) they love unborn Germans.

And, since the order to retribute can only come from a Government, Parliament will have to show a substantial enemy-loving majority.

IT will not be easy to fulfill these conditions. It is a lamentable fact, which causes distress and perplexity to spiritual authorities, that when people start killing each other they get spiteful. It will be extremely difficult to persuade them to switch over to brotherly love the moment the referee stops the fight.

It seems to me, therefore, that if the war is to have the right moral results, we must prepare for it now. Our fighting must be done only by men who love Germans yet to be. This may reduce our forces numerically, but in establishing justice it is quality that counts.

Further, they must make it clear to the enemy (I use the word in its most affectionate sense) what they are doing, or the effect may be spoilt. They must leave no room for doubt that their projectiles are really love-tokens.

Technical details may be discussed later, but we must at least insist that every bomb shall be accompanied by a leaflet bearing the words, "I love your grandchildren."

CHASTISEMENT is a delicate operation, and so easily produces something worse than before. Only the other day I read that two boys who were birched at Brighton were back again in the court for the same offence four days later.

And I thought—how careful we must be! If we punish German militarism in the wrong spirit, they might do it again worse than ever, and that would be most disappointing.

Indeed, some say that because we fought the Kaiser without loving Crown Princes yet to be, the result was Hitler. If we liquidate Hitler in the wrong mood, we might get something like King Kong.

Well, you've had your instructions from ecclesiastical headquarters. Should they pass unheeded, their words need not be wasted. For instance, that phrase about fighting with love in our hearts—spread upon bread, it should make an excellent substitute for treacle.

A PACIFIST COMMENTARY
(Continued from page one)

propaganda! The Times (Feb. 9) admits there is no evidence of anything beyond the perfectly legitimate supply of some Tunisian foodstuffs to Rommel's forces. But this is in small type. Meanwhile, the headlines have done their work.

"Democratic" Rommel

ROMMEL'S startling come-back in Libya is significant in more ways than one. "Rommel, the son of a workman from Bavaria, has given us unfortunately good reason to think that the German army has benefited in the same way (as Napoleon's) by the success of the German revolution in discovering and releasing new talent." (Manchester Guardian, Feb. 6). It is seldom acknowledged that Germany has undergone a revolution which has resulted in what we should call (but the Germans would not) a fundamental "democratization" of the German Army. Russia may be able to put up a resistance in kind to this: Britain certainly cannot.

Furthermore, Rommel, it appears, is an engineer and mechanic; and he refused to accept anyone as an officer under him who could not build a whole tank with his own hands. The American article from which this information is taken describes "the astonishing of a Prussian officer of the old-fashioned monocled type searching for General Rommel and finally discovering him in a tank repair shop, stripped to the waist, working like a mechanic somewhere in the intestines of a tank" (New Statesman, Feb. 7).

War of Tanks

THAT explains better than anything else the astonishing efficiency of Rommel's army, as compared with our own, in getting damaged tanks back into action. Further, there is the quality of the opposed tanks themselves. "Rommel has been greatly assisted throughout the campaign by his Mark IV tanks. These heavy, well-armed monsters, with their 75 mm guns, have proved a continual thorn in our side. In every way they seem to be the superior striking force" (Times, Feb. 4). Put this together with the solid technical criticism of our tank-production by Mr. Hamersley in the House, and it makes a queer story of Britain's part in a war which, Stalin says, will be won by tanks.

Better Than Decay

A POSSIBLE pattern seems to emerge from all this. Sir Stafford Cripps, in an article in the Tribune, put first among the causes of the recent Russian successes "the brilliance of their young generals." On the Russian side, as on the German, you have the phenomenon of the revolutionary army. The clash between them will be prodigious and decisive as far as Europe is concerned: for Britain has nothing of the same order to put up against either. Even the possibility (always remote) of accomplishing a social revolution in war-time is by now ruled out. The choice of Mr. Churchill as national leader made that impossible. Mr. Bevin's wages-policy has merely blocked advance. Now there is a struggle for power going on between the shop-stewards and the TUC.

And although I again suspect that all this comes too late to have any decisive effect, it is nevertheless true that the total situation, political, productive, and military, offers the opportunity for a revolutionary pro-war opposition. It may be said that there is no comfort for the pacifist in that. Not much perhaps. But it is surely far better that something alive and meaningful (even if unpleasant) should happen than that the country should go on "slipping greasily into decay."

"New Force at Work"

SIR STAFFORD made three speeches during the weekend: one more intimate than the other two. This was at a surprise visit to the Bristol Co-operative Guild. The second was at a mass-meeting in Bristol; the third a broadcast. They were all perfectly consistent—urging the qualitative difference between our own and the Russian conception and practice of total war, and the relative complacency of Britain; but the nuance of the more intimate speech was different. It is conveyed in the headline of the report of it in Reynolds (Feb. 8): "Plan policy before the Russians reach Berlin." The feeling in Britain toward Russia, he said, was largely emotional. We had to guard against it.

I am certain that we can make a contribution to the re-organization of post-war Europe, a contribution which no other country can make because the people are not afraid of us. The common people of the occupied countries are relying on us to get the sort of world which they—and we—want after the war. Therefore we must have a firm policy with the Soviet Union. We must get a concrete picture and get them to agree to that picture.

A clear policy is outlined in the three speeches taken as a whole. Maximum help to Russia, by a productive effort of an altogether new intensity, in time to defeat the German spring-offensive; but this on the clear condition that Britain has an equal say with Russia in the European settlement: this European settlement to be formulated now and agreed by Russia. At least, everyone is now conscious that a new force is at work in British politics. It is significant that much the least adequate report of all the speeches was that of the Labour organ, the Daily Herald.

(Continued on page 3)

Neither the Peace Pledge Union nor Peace News itself is necessarily committed to views expressed in the articles we publish. (Still less does the acceptance of advertisements imply endorsement of any views expressed or implied therein or PPU connection with the matter advertised). Contributions are welcomed, though no payment is made. They should be typewritten, if possible, and one side only of the paper should be used. They may not be returned unless a stamped addressed envelope is enclosed, nor can we undertake to acknowledge all correspondence.

THE basis of the Peace Pledge Union is the following pledge which is signed by each member:

I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER.

The address to which new signatures of the pledge should be sent, and from which further particulars may be obtained is:

PPU HEADQUARTERS,

Dick Sheppard House,
8, Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

Blow, Bugles, Blow!

By JOHN BARCLAY

AS no self-respecting person can give the clarion call necessary to draw attention to his own particular virtues, many heroic lives are lived unknown and unhonoured. The pacifist movement has always been rich in this respect, and here and now I want to sound some notes on anonymous trumpets which would otherwise remain silent.

Contrary to the generally held belief, a prison sentence doesn't always strengthen the faith of a pacifist. It may witness to his faith and prove his sincerity beyond doubt, but often it undermines his power of effectual witness in the future. Long hours in prison with only himself for company is bad for any man—worse for some than for others.

When released from prison every pacifist should be given the love and friendship due to them. So much depends on immediate personal contact and a recognition of services rendered.

CRY FROM THE HEART

Equally deserving of our movement are the men and women "sentenced" to the land. The following extract from a letter which reached me last week is a cry from the heart:

"Sometimes we wonder if we haven't made a mistake about it all. It is not so easy to see the finer things of life, the ideals, etc., when you are daily occupied with the struggle of work, warmth, food, and sleep. But I suppose that is becoming more and more the struggle of everyone, town-dwellers as well, while this war continues, and the country dweller in the long run may be better equipped to cope with the situations this war may eventually force upon us. Then, maybe, our experiment in country living may have its value. It is thoughts like that that often keep me going...

"One good bit of news is that another chap employed on this farm is a CO. We both find comfort in the fact that we are pacifists in a strange land, and there is a growing friendship between the two households."

IDENTIFICATION

Those of us whose work has remained unchanged by war may easily forget the heroic sacrifices made by those who feel it their duty to give up black-coated gentility to go "back to the land."

We can at least pay tribute to their service: much more, however, is required of us. Only by identifying ourselves with their sacrifice and sharing their loneliness can we be truly said to have become a fully integrated fellowship. Development means forging new links as well as digging new channels.

"Trumpeter, what are you sounding now?"

DIARY

Feb. 15 Development Committee, Nottingham.
Feb. 17 Ilford.
Feb. 18 Finchley.
Feb. 19 Woburn Sands.
Feb. 21-22 Southern Area Council, Winchester.
Feb. 22 Basingstoke.
Feb. 24 Walthamstow.
Feb. 26 Willesden.
Feb. 28 Bognor Regis.

By the death on Sunday of Miss Ivie Miller, the PPU and Peace News are deprived of one of their keenest London supporters. Besides being Peace News distributor for South Norwood group, she sold Peace News and other literature regularly at Holborn Underground Station, Hyde Park, and other pitches. She was always prepared to brave bad weather and other difficulties in keeping the pacifist message before the public, and her loss will be keenly felt.

Dr. Belden has written a book, "Pax Christi" (The Peace of Christ) to be published shortly by Messrs. Allen and Unwin at 2s. 6d., in which he presents a plan for making effective the witness of the universal Christian Church against war. The sub-title is—"A new policy for Christendom today."

How The Germans Went To War

THE Vansittarts and the editors of the war-mad press would have us believe that the Germans are a race of incurable militarists who, if the world is to have lasting peace, must either be exterminated—which they admit to be a formidable task, even for the Allies—or permanently subjugated, which they still consider practicable.

Contradictory testimony has never been lacking from the many millions of ordinary folk and specialists who, in their several ways, have got to know the German people, but in the interest of retaining sanity in wartime, one is nonetheless grateful for an informed, up-to-the-minute further contribution.

That is provided, among other good things, by the "Berlin Diary" of William Shirer, who was in Germany as a pressman from August, 1934, to December, 1940.

"GOOD-NATURED"

On September 26, 1938, Hitler, having at Godesberg considerably raised the bid he made at Berchtesgaden, "finally burned his last bridges":

Shouting and shrieking in the worst state of excitement I've ever seen him in, he stated in the Sportpalast tonight that he would have his Sudetenland by October 1—next Saturday, today being Monday... Curious audience, the 15,000 party Bonzen (stalwarts) packed into the hall. They applauded his words with the usual enthusiasm. Yet there was no war fever. The crowd was good-natured, as if it didn't realize what his words meant.

The emphasis is Shirer's: note that he was describing a Nazi Party meeting. The following day, Sept. 27:

A motorized division rolled through the city's streets (Berlin) just at dusk this evening in the direction of the Czech frontier. I went out to the corner of the Linden where the column was turning down the Wilhelmstrasse, expecting to see a tremendous demonstration. I pictured the scenes I had read of in 1914 when the cheering throngs on the same street tossed flowers at the marching soldiers, and the girls ran up and kissed them. The hour was undoubtedly chosen today to catch the hundreds of thousands of Berliners pouring out of their offices at the end of the day's work. But they ducked into the subways, refused to look on, and the handful that did stand at the kerb in utter silence, unable to find a word of cheer for the flower of their youth going away to the glorious war. It has been the most striking demonstration against war I've ever seen. Hitler himself reported furious.

I had not been standing long at the corner when a policeman came up the Wilhelmstrasse from the direction of the Chancellery and shouted to the few of us standing at the kerb that the Führer was on his balcony reviewing the troops. Few moved. I went down to have a look. Hitler stood there, and there weren't 200 people in the street or the great square of the Wilhelm-

*Hamish Hamilton 12s. 6d.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Church and War

LAST week you recorded the official "re-alignment" of the fair-weather-pacifist Methodist Church in USA behind the President and nation in support of the shooting war. English and Welsh Nonconformists are not one whit behind their brethren "over there," in the matter of tactics.

On Mar. 25, 1936 the Free Church Conference, at Bristol, first passed a resolution condemning war as anti-Christian; and then (vide Daily Herald), after a heated discussion, rejected by an overwhelming majority an amendment that, "the Assembly, believing war contrary to the mind and teaching of Christ, called upon the Churches to declare that they would take no part in war or preparation for war."

A member declared, "the Free Churches of the country would go down in the eyes of the nation if we were to accept it." Sure thing! Remember what Demetrius said (Acts XIX. 25) "Sirs, ye know that by this craft we have our wealth."

CHAS. W. D. NEWMAN

Beecherroft, Brownhill, Stroud.

Illness has prevented me from answering sooner the criticisms passed on my article, "The Church and War." Mr. Price calls the article "misleading and out of harmony with the historical facts," without however even mentioning the Papal gestures on which my article was based! Instead, he cites one or two Papal utterances which, apart from their context, certainly are misleading.

Thus the background of Pius IX's address to the Guards was not the question of war and peace, but loyalty and disloyalty to the Holy See in the hour of trial. Again, not even the most literal-minded would attach military significance to Pius XI's comparison of himself to Gideon! Thus, again, the latter Pope did not "bless the Mexican rebels"; he blessed heroic men and women whose rebellion consisted chiefly in practising their religion despite ferocious persecution. In 1936 (the Mexican Hierarchy) he condemned armed insurrection. Pius X did not condemn "paci-

platz. Hitler looked grim, then angry, and soon went inside, leaving his troops to parade by unreviewed.

What I have seen tonight almost rekindles a little faith in the German people. They are dead set against war.

On April 23, 1939, broadcasting with Lord Strabolgi from London, Shirer said that "the nerves of the German people were becoming frayed and they were against going to war." The noble Lord was so impressed with this opinion that he invited Shirer to address a committee meeting of the House of Lords. He declined.

ALL AGAINST WAR

A remarkable entry under the date, August 29, two days before the invasion of Poland:

The average German today looks dejected. He can't get over the blow of the ration cards, which to him spells war. Last night when Henderson flew back with London's answer to Hitler's demands—on a night when everyone knew the issue of war or peace might be decided—I was amazed to see that less than 500 people out of a population of 5,000,000 turned out in front of the Chancellery. These few stood there grim and silent. Almost a defeatism discernible in the people. One man remarked to me last night: "The Corridor? Hell, we haven't heard about that for twenty years. Why bring it up now?"

BERLIN, August 31 (morning):

Everybody against the war. People talking openly. How can a country go into a major war with a population so dead against it? People also kicking being kept in the dark. A German said to me last night: "We know nothing. Why don't they tell us what's up?"

Three days later the German people learned that once again they were at war with Britain:

I was standing in the Wilhelmplatz about noon when the loud-speakers suddenly announced that England had declared herself at war with Germany. Some 250 people were standing there in the sun. They listened attentively to the announcement. When it was finished, there was not a murmur. They just stood as they were before. Stunned. The people cannot realize yet that Hitler has led them into a world war...

In 1914, I believe, the excitement in Berlin on the first day of the World War was tremendous. Today, no excitement, no hurrahs, no cheering, no throwing of flowers, no war fever, no war hysteria. There is not even any hate for the French and the British...

May Day, 1940, following the Norway triumph:

Judging from the looks of the good burghers who thronged the Tiergarten today, the one wish in their hearts is for peace, and to hell with the victories... S., a veteran correspondent here, thinks every man, woman, and child in this country is a natural

fish as a heresy" but a certain heresy which, among other doctrines, comprised pacifism.

THE WRITER OF THE ARTICLE

May I correct two misprints in my recent letter. I wrote that Pope Pius IX surrendered Rome to the revolutionaries quickly (not quietly), and I alluded to the prevention of international massacres (not measures).

JOHN NIBB

Woodcraft Folk

I WAS pleased to see C. J. Carter's letter in your issue of Jan. 30 under the heading "Service of Youth." It is a grave reproach to the pacifist movement that it is so concerned with matters of today that it is neglecting to lay the foundations of tomorrow by the training of its children and young people in ideals of real comradeship and internationalism.

What is not generally known is that there already exists what I believe is an almost ideal youth organization for this purpose which is affiliated to, and has its representative on the CBCO. We in Nottingham made this discovery only about two months ago.

I would have no fears about this country's leadership in ideals of world peace tomorrow if today I could persuade every PPU group to start a local fellowship of the Woodcraft Folk. Its National Organizer is Henry Fair, 13 Ritherdon Road, London, S.W.17, who would be happy to send information about the movement and, if possible, arrange a talk.

I would like to hear of any difficulties that are encountered by pacifists who explore the possibilities of the Woodcraft Folk. I have found that the best way to get to know about its ideals and work is first to read "The Folk Trail" (2s. 6d.) or "Republic of Children" (6s.), both goldmines of information on child training and psychology.

FRANK M. JOHNSON

57 Melton Road,
West Bridgford, Nottingham.

born killer. Perhaps so. But today I noticed in the Tiergarten many of them feeding the squirrels and ducks—with their rationed bread!

One day the German people will know, as the British and American peoples now know of them, that we, too, went reluctantly, uncomprehendingly, to war. That day of mutual enlightenment will, if we have sanity and charity enough left after our plunge into 20th century barbarism, be a more significant "New Year's Day" than that which my countrymen have just soberly celebrated.

ANDREW STEWART

Commentary

(Continued from page 2)

Law and Ethiopia

ETHIOPIA is independent again. Or isn't it? Lord Wedgwood and Lord Cecil, in the Lords debate on the subject, were very perturbed that the Emperor is compelled to recognize Italian property-rights. But they were reminded by Lord Hailey that to disregard them would create an awkward precedent for ourselves—say in Malaya. (It is odd and significant that prices on the Stock Exchange indicate that the enormous British capital investment in Malaya is regarded as secure.) The ugly fact with regard to Ethiopia was stressed by Lord Buxton, and denied by nobody, that not only is chattel slavery rampant—two millions being the estimated number of slaves—but that the "Christian" Church is the most stubborn opponent of any effort to abolish slavery. Said Lord Buxton: "The world has really been lenient to Abyssinia on account of slavery, and I think there can be no doubt that if the country had been a Mohammedan country a great deal more would have been heard about it."

Lord Wedgwood's reply that "self-government was better than good government" was quite irrelevant, for the issue is whether there is any "government" at all in Ethiopia. That Haile Selassie's intentions are admirable no-one doubts; and he is to issue a decree forthwith abolishing slavery. But can he enforce it? It will need (as Lord Hailey said) a good deal more than the four millions we have promised him to establish the rule of law in Ethiopia. And which law?

Propaganda Problem

THE sense of frustration which bedevils those who want to fight this war as a progressive war became apparent at a conference on "The War Weapon of Propaganda" held in London on Saturday by Federal Union, Kingsley Martin and Frank Owen very ably debunked Vansittartism and other reactionary ideas; but on the positive side they could do little more than voice pious hopes. This was not their fault. As they had both shown, this war is in fact being run by people who are agreed on trying to save the Empire and prevent Britain from being invaded, but haven't dared to try to agree on anything more positive.

If the country as a whole agreed on something more positive, then that it would assuredly—in time—get a government which would act accordingly. But the country, too, lacks a dynamic. In such circumstances Frank Owen was beating the air in declaiming that we needed an army like the Ironsides, who knew what they fought for and loved what they knew. Two speakers from the floor, one in the army and the other in the RAF, vividly confirmed from their own experience that the Forces suffered a complete lack of any such faith.

"The Prime Factor"

AND even if we knew what we are fighting for, we have a past to live down, in the eyes of Europe. "You have to do things in order to be believed," said Mr. Martin. At the moment, as he himself admitted, Europe is hungry; by the end of a long war, "the prime factor in Europe will not be frontiers, or sovereignty, or any of the things that statesmen talk about: it will be food... Our best weapon and our best peace-maker."

It might be wise for Britain to wield this "weapon" now, rather than wait till Europe is reduced to complete chaos and misery. In the relief of desperate human need we might discover that we can liberate humanity with other weapons than tanks, other propaganda than mere words.

Blow for Food-Relief

ALL honour to the Sunday Times (Feb. 8) which, after publishing the letter of Dr. Cawadias, has struck another blow for food-relief to Greece in an outspoken leader. "Some of the suggestions made—e.g., to ship a single cargo of wheat to Athens—would merely mock the need they affected to meet." But this is a suggestion no longer: it is the declared official policy of the British Government. Before the war, says the Sunday Times, Greece imported 33,000 tons of wheat a month. "Her need now is far more than 33,000 tons a month." What the Government offers is a grudging and problematic single shipment of 8,000 tons—less than a week's supply.

Very significant is the writer's attitude toward the blockade as a whole. If relief on an adequate scale is sent, "the essential blockade need not suffer. Some forms of food it is essential to cut off, e.g., fats, which can be used for explosives. But we cannot hope to reduce the Germans by a shortage of cereals. Meanwhile, our duty to our best friends is inescapable." Thus the Sunday Times entirely abandons the main (and evil) argument of British food-blockade policy—that the Germans will be compelled to feed the starving populations from their own resources.

"Character Bad"

A CONSCIENTIOUS objector who had been charged with refusing medical examination and had been bound over by the Norwich magistrates is now to be convicted.

Herbert C. Story was bound over for 12 months, on Oct. 4, under the Probation of Offenders Act on condition that he sought ambulance work or similar work under the Society of Friends or the Peace Pledge Union, or agricultural work.

The Ministry of Labour's appeal against this decision was allowed by a Divisional Court on Feb. 2. Mr. Justice Humphries declaring that the magistrates had acted in excess of jurisdiction and contrary to law. The Probation of Offenders Act was not to be used as a means of evading the law or of encouraging persistent offenders in their contumacy.

Mr. Justice Wrottesley, concurring with this judgment, referred to the fact that Herbert Story had been bound over on the ground

that he was "of good character and antecedents." In his opinion Story had ceased to be "of good character" when he took advantage of all the provisions of the law as to conscientious objection but refused to accept the decision of the law that he should be liable for non-combatant duties in the forces.

The case was remitted to the Norwich justices with a direction to convict, the amount of the penalty being for them to decide.

Herbert Story is at present working for the Friends War Victims Relief Committee at Petersfield.

"REASONABLE EXCUSE"

Michael Segal, a CO registered conditionally on taking up work in ARP or AFS or on the land, was summoned on Jan. 22 at Sutton Police Court for failing to carry out the condition of his registration.

He stated that for the past nine months he had been a member of a club looking after down-and-outs and caring for people who were not desirable in an ARP shelter. There they tried to make such people better members of society. He worked 12 hours for six nights a week and received a pound a week.

The prosecuting solicitor said that the question of reasonable excuse had been considered by the Ministry of Labour, who had decided that he had not reasonable excuse and that his case should not be referred back to the tribunal.

The Bench adjourned the case for 14 days for the Ministry of Labour to re-consider the matter in the light of the work he was doing. On Feb. 5, when the adjourned hearing took place, the prosecuting solicitor said that Michael Segal's case would be referred back to the tribunal.

C.B.C.O. BULLETIN

The CBCO Bulletin for February is of special value to the 16-18-year-olds, to women registering for national service, and to those concerned with fire-watching. Much vital information regarding the legal rights and obligations of such people is given in clear and concise form.

In particular there is a report of an interview between Fenner Brockway, Joe Brashaw, and Denis Hayes, on behalf of the Central Board, and Miss Ellen Wilkinson, on behalf of the Home Office, in which the hardships suffered by objectors to fire-watch-

NEWS OF C.O.s

ing or compulsion for it were discussed. Hopes of an improvement, however, were discouraged.

Prosecutions continue, and the Bulletin reports a number that took place in the latter half of January. These include the cases of Kenneth Siddall (Manchester; sentenced for the third time for refusing to watch); Arthur Bullock and George Bairstow (prominent members of the Society of Friends in Halifax, who were each fined £20 for refusing to register).

In addition to these, John A. Horton, of Richmond, was sent to prison for two months on Jan. 26 for refusing to register. A local distributor for Peace News, and also a voluntary helper in the Peace News office, he had already been doing fire-watching voluntarily.

Of particular importance to women are the lists of jobs from which they are not, at present, to be taken, and to which, on the other hand, they may be directed. There is also a report on women imprisoned for not complying with Ministry of Labour directions (Constance Bolam, of Newcastle-on-Tyne, and Charlotte Cliffe, of Manchester).

These by no means exhaust the subjects dealt with in this very informative Bulletin, which is obtainable at 3d. from the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

When Raymond O'Farrell was exempted by the Edinburgh Tribunal on condition that he stayed in his occupation as a ballet dancer he claimed that he was serving his country by keeping alive a sense of beauty. Last week it was reported that the Minister was appealing against the decision "so that the most authoritative decision may be obtained."

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Parliament After the War

Mr. Maxton has broken the uncanny complacency of the House of Commons. He has definitely challenged the assumption that the traditional Parliamentary system of this country will survive the war. Speaking on the report of the Select Committee on Offices or Places of Profit under the Crown, on Feb. 5, he said:—

FURTHER, I put this point, which has given me a tremendous lot of thought. The whole of the discussions of the Committee and of the House today are made on the assumption that after the war we shall make peace treaties in the normal way and that we shall all go back to our old Parliamentary systems or autocracies, or whatever we had before the war. I see that we have the first autocrat back on his throne quite safely as a result of the struggle for democracy. The Emperor of Ethiopia sits enthroned with the full assent of the British House of Commons—which the Prime Minister told me today has not been asked—maintaining his old position, and he has given some promise that, perhaps, when he finds it suitable, he will abolish slavery.

I am not resenting the cash. I would not mind paying £1,000,000 or £2,000,000 if I thought I was going to get something like democracy and freedom for the people. But I do not make the assumption that things are going to return to their former state like that. It may be that this House of Commons will have to take a day-to-day responsibility for administering economical and social things in a way they have never done before. We make the assumption—it has been implicit right through—that we are going to return to a Parliamentary system in which there is a Government and an Opposition, and that we are going to have the same good old system of "ins" and "outs."

I am inclined to think, looking at the relationship of my hon. Friends above the Gangway and the people across the Floor, and the way in which Labour, Conservative, and Liberal are all sitting cheek by jowl, and how it has now become a tremendous offence to vote against them on any occasion, that the essentials of the House of Commons—a Government side and an Opposition side—are gone. The question that must arise is whether they are gone for good or only temporarily.

If they are to be resumed, what will be the basis of difference? What fundamental principle will separate one side from the other, because if you are not going to have a real dividing principle, do not let us maintain the farce, the facade, of disagreement where there is none. If we are to have something in the nature of a totalitarian, authoritarian State let us say so. Do not let us have authoritarianism and totalitarianism by default.

FREEDOM

(Continued from page 1)

or by this country alone, if the USA would not co-operate—to cast off that tyranny of international finance and Big Business which is rightly regarded by the totalitarian States as their chief enemy, and is the chief enemy of the peoples of the ex-democracies as well.

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WILL kind Weymouth person who sent Peace News to D. Jackson, Milborne Port, please communicate.

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